E. A. BERGMAN

In this Issue

Revolting Writers - p. 2

Aldermaston-Post Mortem of the Press - p. 3

A Package Deal over Cyprus - p. 4

Freedom

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY

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Vol. 21, No. 18 April 30th, 1960 Threepe

Lord Chief Justice Joins the Birchers

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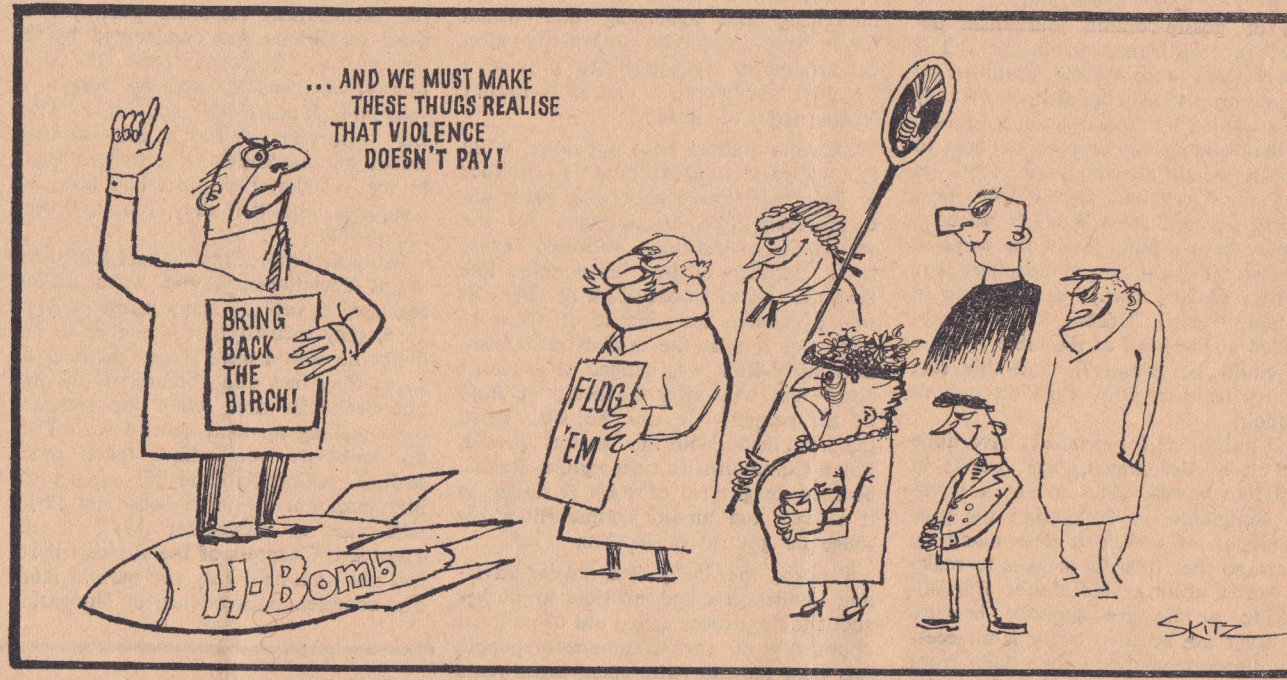

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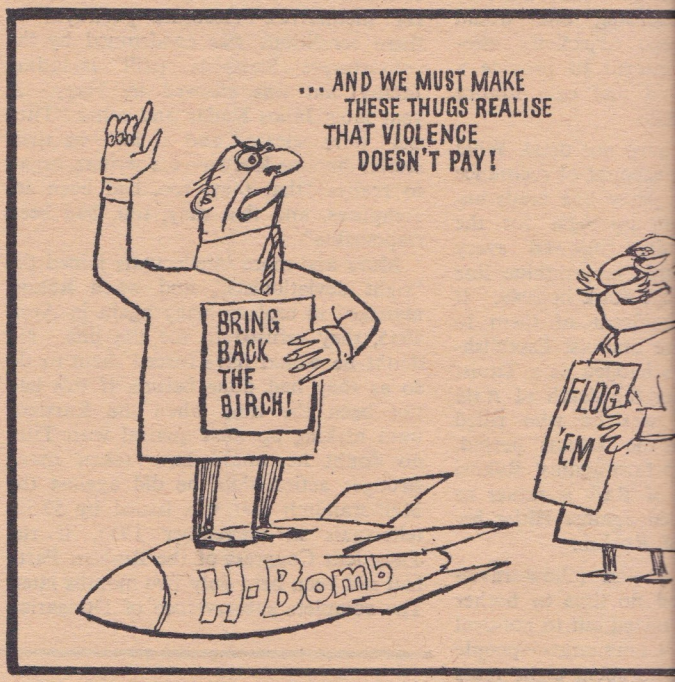

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Then something happened which paralysed their brains and left them speechless. David Pratt, a wealthy farmer who keeps cattle and breeds trout for the luxury market of Johannesburg, shot Dr. Verwoerd at close range with the obvious intention of killing him. That a white S. African, a wealthy man, whose wealth and status might well depend on the successful conclusion of Dr. Verwoerd's apartheid policies, should have been prepared to risk his life or at least his liberty; to exchange his material comforts (which by all accounts were considerable) for confinement in a prison cell, in order to make his protest against Verwoerd and his policies seems to us so unusual, so praiseworthy, that no one professing to radical ideas could possibly *ignore* the action even if he disagreed with the *method*.

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TWENTY-ONE people were sent to prison for a week on Monday, following their refusal to pay fines for obstructing the police earlier in the day at the culmination of the demonstration at the Ministry of Supply atomic weapons research establishment at Foulness Island in Essex.

The original proposal to invade the island by boat had to be abandoned because of difficulties over the tides and organisation, and the less spectacular method of obstructing the road on to the island early on Monday morning was adopted.

The demonstration began on Saturday with a meeting on the sea-front by Southend pier, from which 200 people marched the six miles to the police barrier to Foulness Island, from which the public are permanently excluded. A 'vigil' at the barrier through the week-end, and on Monday the 21 demonstrators marched in a body to the barrier and demanded admittance. When it was refused they lay down in the road to prevent traffic entering or leaving the island, watched by a force of 50 Essex and War Department police, and when the first vehicle arrived, they were instructed to move. Failing to do so they were lifted bodily into police vehicles and were later charged at a special court at Southend.

There was prolonged cheering from the public gallery when they refused to pay the fines imposed by the court. Three of the defendants made statements to the courts on behalf of their colleagues. One of them said "We are led to believe that we live in a democratic country, but this is not the case when the British public has never been consulted with regard to matters of such vital importance to each one of us. We are virtually disenfranchised on the supreme issue of our time when we cannot vote at elections against the policy of preparing for the destruction of the human race". Marches are not enough, she continued, however many thousands take part ,and there must be a more determined protest. "If we cannot be heard to dissent, we must be seen to dissent."

A further demonstration at Foulness is expected next Monday.

This was the first of the current campaign of civil disobedience demonstrations at military installations to be organised outside the auspices of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War. The organisers are largely Southend Quakers, with the support of the local branch of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

Maria Bakunin

IN its issue for 22/4/60 the *Times Educational Suppletment* reported the death of Professor Maria Bakunin, formerly director of the Institute of Applied Chemistry at the University of Naples. She was the last surviving daughter of Bakunin's widow.

Illiteracy Halved

THE *Unione Nazionale per la Lotta contro Analfabetism,* a non-political voluntary association formed twelve years ago to attempt to end illiteracy in Italy announced at its annual meeting in Rome last month that in 1951 there were 5,046,000 illiterates in Italy, while today there are 2,044,000. The union, which is largely responsible for this achievenow has over 50 adult education centres in the poorest parts of southern Italy.

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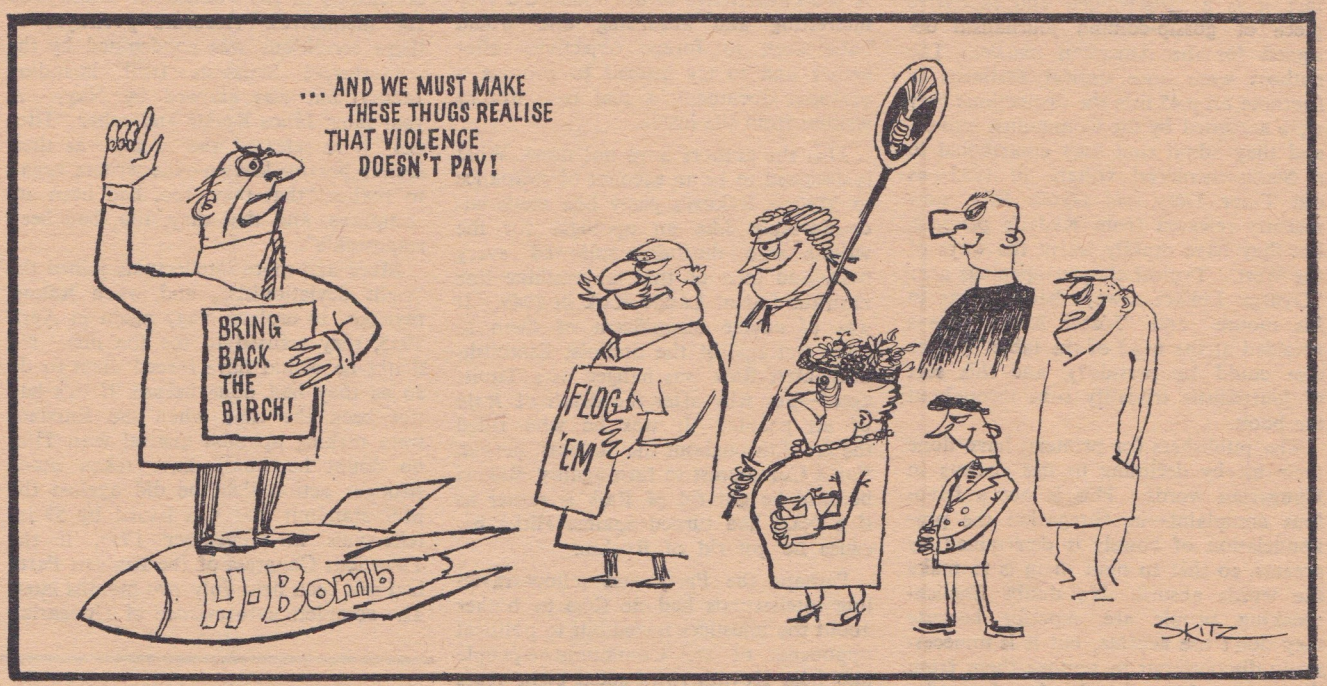

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> The gun attack on Dr. Verwoerd has had the immediate effect of reuniting almost all leading white opinion behind the traditional South African segregation policy.

The Spectator draws the same conclusion but is at least frank

It just didn't happen!

The only honourable exception to this catalogue of moral and political cowardice is the Comment in *The Observer* (17/4/60) which we reprint in full:

> Personal sympathy for Dr. Verwoerd, who is recovering from an attempt on his life, should be expressed and felt. He carries huge responsibilities and has no doubt done only what he believes to be right. But this should not prevent us from feeling some sympathy for Mr. David Pratt, his would-be assassin, who presumably also did what he believed to be right.
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> Political assassination is undoubtedly a crime in civilised communities. However, only pacifists have reproached those who made attempts on the lives of Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and Franco, because these rulers had practised such extravagant injustice and violence themselves.
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> The first reaction . . . must be surprise that it did not happen a long time ago. No dictatorship can behave in the brutal and bloody way that his [Verwoerd's] has been doing without eventually leading someone to the conclusion that the simplest way to topple the tyrant is to shoot him dead.

Tribune relegates its short comment to the back page and though it makes clear in a round about way that it has no sympathy for Verwoerd, makes no attempt to understand or to explain the significance of David Pratt's gesture which it dismisses with

> Assassination is an ineffective political weapon. *Tribune* does not hold the view that it is possible to shoot *apartheid* out of South Africa by shooting Verwoerd.

Not one of these journals ever mentions David Pratt by name. Of the minority weeklies we see, the *Socialist Leader* organ of the I.L.P. has a paragraph which simply says that the *attentat* will "tend to strengthen temporarily the National Party government by making Verwoerd into a kind of martyr—whatever the motive for the shooting, at the time of writing not revealed". But even this cautious line was bettered by *Peace News* organ of the Peace Pledge Union by the simple expedient of ignoring it altogether. It just didn't happen!

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THAT the *New Statesman* should dismiss the "gun attack" in four lines does not surprise us. That journal has been politically dead for decades and it would be asking too much to expect a spark of imagination and political unorthodoxy to shake the sobriety of the columns of this self-appointed organ of the Establishment. But the silence of *Peace News* is cowardly and dishonest. We are sorry to have to say this since we esteem that journal's editor personally, but what other conclusions can we draw when it not only devotes considerable space to the struggle in Africa, but also advocates direct action, civil disobedience and "personal witness"—all non-violent—as essential if we are to achieve the goal of a world at peace and in which all men are free and equal. "But David Pratt's action was violent and we advocate only non-violent action" we shall be told. That is true, and we would therefore understand if *Peace News* published a

☞ Continued on p. 3

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BOOK REVIEWS

REVOLTING WRITERS

THIS book* is yet another chapter in the sad story of the events leading up to the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Since Tamás Aczél and Tibor Méray are professional writers who lived in Hungary until they escaped to Western Europe in November 1956, one might hope that their account would be well-written, interesting and revealing. In fact it is a long-winded and expensive piece of gossip-column journalism designed for the American market. The authors were once dutiful Stalinists (a footnote on p.45 lists the distinctions they were accorded by the Communist régime, and they admit that they contributed to a Stalin memorial volume in 1953—as did Tibor Déry and Gyula Háy, now recently released from Kádár's prisons), but they have rapidly learnt the ways of the West. Typical chapter-openings are: "György Lukács always had a cigar in his mouth" and "József Révai always presided at the head of the table" (where else could he preside?), and this sort of journalistic triviality runs throughout the book.

The publishers (or printers) have done their bit by declining to use accents in Hungarian words. This is not a frivolous complaint—in Hungarian the pronounciation of vowels is determined by accents, so that to omit them is to make the words absurd. No doubt English-speaking people are superior because they don't use accents, but it is unnecessarily discourteous to remove them from the names of people who do. I wonder how the authors like it. I also wonder if they were responsible for replacing the phrase "salami tactics" (which is highly expressive) by "meatgrinder tactics" (which is meaningless) when describing the way the Communists destroyed the Smallholders and Social Democrats between 1946 and 1948. I doubt it. In general this book is so badly constructed and written that I suspect it has been through the heavy hands of some incompetent translators and editors.

To get to its subject, the sub-title is "A Case History of Intellectual Resistance Behind the Iron Curtain". The book is in fact both more and less than this. The authors were themselves Stalinists at the beginning, resisters in the middle, and exiles at the end of the last decade. They are therefore so deeply involved in the process they describe that it is out of the question for them to maintain an objective attitude towards it. A valid alternative to this—indeed a very interesting and absorbing one—would have been to forego objectivity altogether and to try instead to provide a personal document, a real case history written from the inside.

This the authors have not done. What is designed to be an account of resistance to Mátyás Ràkosi's party line reads uncomfortably like an apologia for the writers who dutifully followed every twist and turn of that labyrinthine line until the fall of László Rajk in 1949. It was of course magnificent of them to stand out against the Stalinist Establishment after Rajk was hanged as a Titoist agent—but why after the death of *Rajk* of all people? It was he who ruled the AVO throughout the "salami" period. For a Communist to turn against Rákosi because he got rid of Rajk is rather as if a Nazi had turned against Hitler because he got rid of Roehm.

Perhaps the Party and fellow-travelling intellectuals had no time to bother about the injustices meted out to political opponents of the Communists—people like Béla Kovács (who spent eight years in Siberia when the Smallholders were crushed), Anna Kéthly (who went to prison in Hungary for five years when the Social Democrats went the same way), Pál Ignotus (seven years) or Cardinal Mindszenty (that brave misguided man who had been arrested forty years earlier by the 1919 Communist régime when he was still plain Joseph Pehm, and spent seven years in prison before the 1956 Revolution)—but why did they take no notice of what happened to the great poet Atilla József (who was hounded out of the Party even before the War) or to Imre Nagy and György Lukács in 1949? No doubt Rajk was innocent of Titoism, but hundreds of his victims had been innocent of everything. No, he deserves precious little sympathy from us.

Anyway, intellectual resistance after 1949 was scarcely noticeable (except in the cases of people like Nagy, Lukács or Déry, who could get away with it) until the death of Stalin in March 1953. And then, as the honesty of the authors compels them to admit several times, the various ups and downs of intellectual liberty that followed were determined not by the attitude of the writers but by the high politics of the Communist world; the large amount of space devoted to foreign events and rivalry for power shows how relatively insignificant the Hungarian wrters really were.

It was the Berlin Rising of June 1953 that led to the replacement of Rákosi by Imre Nagy (a "Bukharinist", or peasant-lover, something like Malenkov) at Russian orders, and brought the "Thaw" to Hungary. Only then did an Déry when József Révai attacked his novel *The Answer* in 1952: "The writer is trying to defend his right to write what he wants to write." In the autumn of 1953, we are told, several writers who had for years been churning out socialist realist nonsense in accordance with Révai's version of the *Zhdanovshchina* actually went out and saw the appalling conditions in the Hungarian countryside for themselves. Accurate portrayal of these conditions was condemned by the conservative Stalinists (still including Méray) but was allowed by Nagy. A year later János Kádár and other "Titoists" were released and at last—as their stories became known—the writers began to realise "that they, too, had been accomplices, and that they, too, had been responsible".

More and more intellectuals joined the "right deviationists", and when Rákosi managed to replace Nagy again in April 1955, they refused to toe the line. No doubt he would have forced them to do so as they had done before, if this had not been the time when the Russians were making up their quarrel with Tito; no doubt he would have taken much stronger action than he did against the Memorandum that was issued by 59 intellectuals in November 1955, if the Twentieth Congress of the Russian Party had not been held only two months later. The complete subservience of Hungarian

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*THE REVOLT OF THE MIND, by Tamás Aczél & Tibor Méray (Thames & Hudson, 35s.).

THE TOKOLOSH

***THE TOKOLOSH* by Ronald Segal (Sheed and Ward 6s.)**

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speaking people are superior because they don't use accents, but it is unnecessarily discourteous to remove them from the names of people who do. I wonder how the authors like it. I also wonder if they were responsible for replacing the phrase "salami tactics" (which is highly expressive) by "meatgrinder tactics" (which is meaningless) when describing the way the Communists destroyed the Smallholders and Social Democrats between 1946 and 1948. I doubt it. In general this book is so badly constructed and written that I suspect it has been through the heavy hands of some incompetent translators and editors.

To get to its subject, the sub-title is "A Case History of Intellectual Resist-

about the injustices meted out to political opponents of the Communists—people like Béla Kovács (who spent eight years in Siberia when the Smallholders were crushed), Anna Kéthly (who went to prison in Hungary for five years when the Social Democrats went the same way), Pál Ignotus (seven years) or Cardinal Mindszenty (that brave misguided man who had been arrested forty years earlier by the 1919 Communist régime when he was still plain Joseph Pehm, and spent seven years in prison before the 1956 Revolution)—but why did they take no notice of what happened to the great poet Atilla József (who was hounded out of the Party even before the War) or to Imre Nagy and György Lukács in 1949? No doubt Rajk was innocent of Titoism, but hundreds of his victims had been innocent of everything. No, he deserves precious little sympathy from us.

Anyway, intellectual resistance after 1949 was scarcely noticeable (except in the cases of people like Nagy, Lukács or Déry, who could get away with it) until the death of Stalin in March 1953. And then, as the honesty of the authors compels them to admit several times, the various ups and downs of intellectual liberty that followed were determined not by the attitude of the writers but by the high politics of the Communist world; the large amount of space devoted to foreign events and rivalry for power shows how relatively insignificant the Hungarian wrters really were.

It was the Berlin Rising of June 1953 that led to the replacement of Rákosi by Imre Nagy (a "Bukharinist", or peasant-lover, something like Malenkov) at Russian orders, and brought the "Thaw" to Hungary. Only then did an appreciable number of writers take the line that had been laid down by Tibor

*THE REVOLT OF THE MIND, by Tamás Aczél & Tibor Méray (Thames & Hudson, 35s.).

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CINEMA

Red Teds beat up Expectant Blackleg

"THE Angry Silence" starring (and made by) Richard Attenborough is a representation of the headline noted above. It was made by Attenborough's own group, Beaver Films, and serialized in the *Daily Express.* It has all the qualities of a good story in a bad newspaper, sensationalism, tear-jerking, simplification, a piling on of horrors and an obscuring of the real issue.

The story is too well-piled-up. It starts with an intellectual, who looks, if you can imagine such a thing, like Colin Wilson without his roll-neck pullover, getting off a train coming into a provincial station. This personage is receiving orders from Above. The source is not disclosed but you-know-who.

This basic premise, that workers would not strike without Communist influence, is absurd. The point is that it is an unofficial strike (this is a concession to the Unions since it is well-known that blacklegs do not get molested on *official* strikes). Why the worker does not join in the strike is only hinted at. He has no illusions about the job, his wife is 'expecting'. But that he is in it for the money is never stressed. Just some remarks about the necessity for individuals to stand out and the regrettable tendency for 'us all to be so equal that we're nothing' which could have come from the late Sir Ernest Benn. He proves how more equal than the others he is by filling a pool coup, looking at a telly which breaks down occasionally (a concession to Tom O'Brien), and he is presumably a Roman Catholic, otherwise how can one explain the Italian wife and the lack of birth control? This film may not get an Oscar but will get a *nihil obstat.*

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The Teddy Boys who are the physical villains of the piece would, if they had made such a compromise as to work in skilled engineering, have compromised in other details. Speaking of work, what exactly is it that the factory does? There were dark hints of defence contracts; a cement-mixer was seen assembled in the yard; a cog-wheel landed on Richard Attenborough's toe but we never saw the finished product. Perhaps it was Saracens?

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Déry when József Révai attacked his novel *The Answer* in 1952: "The writer is trying to defend his right to write what he wants to write." In the autumn of 1953, we are told, several writers who had for years been churning out socialist realist nonsense in accordance with Révai's version of the *Zhdanovshchina* actually went out and saw the appalling conditions in the Hungarian countryside for themselves. Accurate portrayal of these conditions was condemned by the conservative Stalinists (still including Méray) but was allowed by Nagy. A year later János Kádár and other "Titoists" were released and at last—as their stories became known—the writers began to realise "that they, too, had been accomplices, and that they, too, had been responsible".

More and more intellectuals joined the "right deviationists", and when Rákosi managed to replace Nagy again in April 1955, they refused to toe the line. No doubt he would have forced them to do so as they had done before, if this had not been the time when the Russians were making up their quarrel with Tito; no doubt he would have taken much stronger action than he did against the Memorandum that was issued by 59 intellectuals in November 1955, if the Twentieth Congress of the Russian Party had not been held only two months later. The complete subservience of Hungarian to Russian affairs is summed up by the way in which Rákosi's plan to take advantage of the Poznan Rising of June 1956, by arresting hundreds of the offending intellectuals was frustrated by Mikoyan, who flew in from Russia to kick him out of office once more and then flew on to see Tito.

In fact, of course, Rákosi was quite right—it was dangerous to allow the writers such freedom of thought and expression as they enjoyed in Hungary during 1956; this was shown by the events that followed the rehabilitation of Rajk on October 6th and led on to the outbreak of the Revolution on October 23rd. But it is a mistake to imagine that the writers *led* the liberalising movement—they *symbolised* it. After all the "Thaw" began with the death of the great dictator, Stalin, not with any action of any writer. It is natural for the authors to give particular emphasis to intellectual and cultural life (in fact the book would have been a lot more satisfactory if they had stuck to this), but it is—as they admit—rather too much to suggest that "the struggles of the Communist writers" were "the soul and body of the revolt".

I think that what is wrong with this book (apart from the fact that it is badly written) is a facet of the heresy that there is something special about writers. This is not just a Communist heresy: one may also remember that far more fuss was made in the West about one Hungarian writer (Tibor Déry) who was imprisoned in 1957 or about one Russian writer (Boris Pasternak) who was silenced in 1958 than about thousands of other victims of Communist tyranny; and in a different environment consider the attitudes taken up in the West to people like Ezra Pound and Jean Genet, who are thought to deserve special treatment because they are writers.

No, if you want to read about Communism go to Koestler; if you want to read about intellectuals in Hungary go to Ignotus; if you want to read about prisons in Hungary go to Edith Bone; if you want to read about Hungary itself go to Mikes. One must respect Aczél and Méray for trying to make amends for what they did and said and wrote before they saw the truth about Mátyás Rákosi and József Révai and Mihály Farkas and Ernö Gerö and Gábor Péter (all Jews—why?); but this book does not really help to explain why they and their colleagues took so long to see the truth. It is this, rather than the failure of the Revolution, that is the real Hungarian tragedy, and it is still obscure. We still lack a profound study of that strange phenomenon, the Communist writer in a Communist country.

We also lack a complete history of the Hungarian Revolution (though Mikes' sketch is good for its length). If only we could hear from Rákosi (now rumoured to be manager of a paper factory in Russia) or from Kádár (patriot and traitor, who still bears the scars he received from the AVO he once ruled)! In the meantime we can only bow our heads in shame when we remember that we were floundering around in the Suez morass when the brave, unhappy but humorous Hungarians were fighting for freedom. Let us hope that one day they will have it despite everything.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Progressive Education Today

THE letter from I.L. commenting on my series of articles on Progressive Education Today raises some valid points. I am taken to task on the use of the word "horse-sense". I must admit that as this term is colloquial it has no very precise meaning, but now, looking in various dictionaries, I find that I am not alone in regarding it as meaning "rough, practical commonsense". I have used the term to indicate the rough opposite of "intellectualism". Thus if I try to encourage the growth of my cabbages by hacking down the weeds around them I am using horse-sense; if however I resort to swinging a pendulum over over them seven times at the full moon, I am using an intellectualist approach which must derive from some more subtle theory of plant growth.

I.L. quotes some examples of parental mismanagement of children and refers to these as examples of horse-sense. I must flatly disagree with him and suggest that he has got ahold of the wrong end of the stick. Nothing but some damned silly intellectual theory would lead a parent constantly to force food on a sated child, except two bowel movements a day, etc. This is the antithesis of horse-sense. No ordinary, practical experience of children will lead parents to make unrealistic demands on them; where such unrealistic demands are Reichianism is now pretty well dead and the Orgone Boxes are now collecting dust in attics or used as tool cupboards.

As I.L. points out, others were concerned for freedom in education long before Reich started writing about "self-regulation". Most of the benefits of the progressive schools are, I maintain, derived from the use of horse-sense, and not from esoteric theories. The psychoanalytic school in general has contributed to the development of progressive education by virtue of its consideration of everyday facts about children, rather than by its more esoteric theories.

In conclusion I.L. refers to me as putting on some very rosy spectacles. Indeed! I feared my spectacles were altogether of too dark a shade of grey. However, in spite of some points of disagreement which I have with him, I welcome his letter as a contribution from someone who has obviously been prepared to do something about progressive education..

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I wonder whether I.L. thinks that such instances as he quotes are in fact usual among ordinary parents (*i.e.* parents who are not psychiatric cases). I wonder whether such impressions are gained from his own experience and whether such experience is wide and representative. I mention this because it is possible to be greatly misled by studying psychiatric case histories. He mentions "specific things that most parents do that are most harmful" and cites a lifetime of clinical experience (Reich's?) in support of this. But a cliniciam, although he is in a position to hear a lot about the practices of neurotics and psychotics, has no special competence to generalize about the frequency of such practices in the general population. Reich's theories go far beyond others of the psychoanalytic school in the respect of setting up the practices of psychiatric cases as aunt sallies typical of the whole population—other than the elect. In this respect Reich was grossly misleading to the naive and ignorant, and brought himself into contempt with those who had less respect for sheer dogmatic statements in the place of reasoning.

The fact that Reich appears to have been insane for the last years of his life, and that his later writings were quite worthless, does not detract from the relevance of his writings of the 1930's taken against the whole background of the psychoanalytic school. As far as the section of the libertarian movement which was once concerned with it, Reichianism is now pretty well dead and the Orgone Boxes are now collecting dust in attics or used as tool cupboards.

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If we are prepared to march against the H-bomb how can we go on helping to pay for its manufacture and for the farce of civil defence? We should refuse to pay income tax towards defence and rates towards civil defence.

Tax refusals have a long and honourable history dating from the 17th century when John Hampden refused to pay "Ship money" to the despotic Stuart monarchy. "No taxation without representation" was the slogan of the American colonists and of the people in the women's franchise movement. It might equally well be ours in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament today.

There will be a meeting to plan a campaign of revenue refusals on Saturday, May 7, at the Student Movement House, Gower Street, London, W.C.1. In the morning rates refusals and suing borough councils will be discussed; in the afternoon, income tax refusals.

Pamela Frankau and Doris Lessing as well as a number of other well-known people have promised to come to the afternoon meeting. We hope that all those interested in taking action along these lines will attend the meeting—*including* those on PAYE for whom certain lines of action may be possible.

APRIL CARTER,
Secretary.
PAT ARROWSMITH,
Field Secretary.
(Direct Action Committee).
London, N.4.

Continued on p. 4

Freedom
THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY
Vol. 21, No. 18 April 30, 1960

In Defence of David Pratt

☛ Continued from p. 1

denunciation of David Pratt's attempt on Dr. Verwoerd. But why the suppression? Not surely because it was an example of the violence of man. The Sharpeville massacre and many other examples of colonial violence are frequently reported and commented in *Peace News*. We suspect they have no answer which they themselves believe, to a gesture such as that of David Pratt. Let us analyse his gesture before we proceed further.

★

WE know very little about David Pratt apart from the fact that he was wealthy, that he lived in style, that he was a farmer and a factory owner. He has also been described as an "eccentric"; we have also read that he was an epileptic. In the *Evening Standard* for April 11 there is a photograph of him with a Liberal candidate, during the last general election ,taken outside 10 Downing Street. He was canvassing for the Liberal candidate for Westminster, Mr. Bute Hewes, so presumably his politics were Liberal. Mr. Hewes interviewed after the *attentat* said

I think it is wrong to write Mr. Pratt off as a madman. He was not the sort of chap to go around shouting "down with Verwoerd". He would go and do something about it. He helped us a great deal with door-to-door canvassing. He didn't talk very much, but he struck me as being perfectly sane.

We know nothing further either about Mr. Pratt or his motives in attempting the life of Dr. Verwoerd because on the one hand after the *Evening Standard* there has been complete silence about him in the British Press and on the other, the South African government, which had the powers to put him on trial has chosen instead to use its Emergency Powers to keep him in prison, incommunicado, without charging him or putting him on trial. The fact that such a course has been taken is, to our minds, clear evidence that it suits the government's interest not to put him on trial in open court. The reasons we can think of for this course of action are (*a*) that he has been so ill-treated that he is not in a fit condition to be seen by the eyes of the world Press, (*b*) that if he were put on trial he would defend his action along the lines of the hind the gun was white; for had it been black the repression that would have followed would have made Sharpeville a mere picnic. We do not share this timorous approach (how many Sharpevilles will the Press and the Left and the pacifists witness before they allow the worm to turn?) but we welcome the fact that Verwoerd's would-be assassin was white. And for quite different reasons!

Now *Peace News*, we are sure, shares our view that the only *satisfactory* solution to the South African problem is one which recognises the equal rights of all, irrespective of racial difference. For Africans to talk of driving the whites into the sea is as barbarous as the Verwoerds who seek to force the Africans into "native reserves". The intransigence of the white ruling class fosters a similar intransigence among the black Africans which is understandable but which our deep sympathies for their cause must not prevent us from expressing as harmful. For it not only encourages a racialism which we seek to abolish, but makes those concerned in the struggle blind to the fact that among the whites of South Africa and outside, there are many who do not assess a person's worth by the pigment of his skin. This surely is the most important aspect of David Pratt's gesture. By it he has shown the black S. Africans that there are whites whose sense of justice transcends considerations of race or class. Equally, we suggest, that for those anti-racial white South Africans who have despaired of ever convincing their black brothers of their sincerity, David Pratt's gesture has been invaluable.

Finally, it has given the ruling clique in S. Africa a feeling of insecurity. Verwoerd has often boasted: "I never allow myself the luxury of ever doubting whether I might be wrong." We may be wrong, but we strongly believe that if Verwoerd does once again take has place as, to quote Colin Legum of the *Observer*, "the most powerful Nationalist figure in the country", he will, as a result of David Pratt's gesture, allow himself the "luxury" of doubt.

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ALDERMASTON—Post Morte

THE weekly press has been holding its inquest on the significance of the phenomenal number of people who joined the march from Aldermaston. Comparisons have been made to show that it was the longest procession ever seen in this country, and that the crowds in and around Trafalgar Square were the largest ever seen there, and so on. It has been pointed out that no other cause, and no political party could gather such a large number of people. None of us, *Peace News* points out, had seen anything like it before. "We were familiar enough with the dispirited May Day processions of portly trade unionists droning Socialist hymns, too familiar by half with the strutting myriads of the totalitarian storm troops. None of us, until three years ago, had ever envisaged such a combination of spontaneity and order, seriousness and gaiety, discipline and informality." Michael Foot writes in *Tribune*, that "on the road from Aldermaston the youth movement which the Labour Party has talked about for so long and so pitiably failed to achieve, was being created before our eyes", and in the *New Statesman*, Kingsley Martin makes the same point to attack the Labour Party leadership: "What matters even more is that the marchers included just those young people for whose support poor Mr. Morgan Phillips has now been entrusted to seek in recreating Labour's lost youth movement. That means conflict and weakness in every constituency. In every part of these islands the politically conscious and eager young people who should be looking forward to a Labour government giving a practical interpretation to their idealistic slogans are leaderless and rudderless. One of the few things they are sure about is that the leader of the Labour Party treats them with contempt." He sees them as "leaderless and rudderless", because he thinks in terms of leadership, with presumably, his paper as the rudder of the Labour movement. Bernard Kops, the playwright, however, in an ecstatic article in *Tribune*, declares that

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On the other hand were he insane, or had the government any evidence to show that he was a member of some subversive group he would, in our opinion, now be standing trial for the attempted assassination of Verwoerd, since it would be in the government's interest to do so. We think that everything points to the David Pratt *attentat* as one of those unexpected gestures from a member of the privileged class (and in this case, race) who does not reject the material comforts which it allows him but who at the same time has a conscience which prevents him from rationalising his privileged status.

Unlike the *Socialist Leader* which will not commit itself until it has evidence in black and white of the motives behind the *attentat,* we accept David Pratt's action as courageous, generous, and important to the future of S. Africa. The Press sighed with relief that the hand be-

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May Day 1960

THIS Sunday in Hyde Park (if it doesn't rain) the "boys and girls of the left" will fall in behind an awful lot of banners to mark with empty gestures the coming of another May Day.

It so happens that May 1st falls on a Sunday this year, but had it been on a working day men and women all over Britain would obediently clock into the factories, without thought for the historical meaning of May 1st, originally conceived as a day on which workers all over the world would down tools in an expression of international solidarity.

The coalition of Trade Unions and State has robbed May 1st of any meaning by arranging for May Day "celebrations" to be held on the first *Sunday* in May so as not to hinder production and deprive employers of profits through having a one-day stoppage.

When men like Tom Mann were campaigning for the Eight-Hour Day, workers were slaving from twelve to sixteen hours a day for poor wages. It was out of these conditions that the concept of an international solidarity day grew.

Since then working conditions have improved. The Labour Party has emerged and had its fruitless time in office; two wars have widened the gap between the international working class; the self-styled "Land of Socialism" has produced a tyranny and a hierarchy of privilege equal to the capitalist West, and the emerging urban workers in Africa (held in slavery by a mere handful of White men), have had no real international support. At home there is just as little community of interest between the various sections of workers.

While conditions in some countries may have improved since the days of Tom Mann, there is no basic change in human relationships.

The fear of not having enough money to meet the demands of 20th century life, the fear of war more bloody than ever before still haunts the majority of people.

Conditions will not be changed and fears allayed by staging marches once a year or making hypocritical speeches about the brotherhood of man.

The strength is there among the workers which could force a change, but they will not be encouraged to use this strength for good by their political or union leaders whose guiding principle is expediency first.

It is necessary to re-educate, to make meaningful appeals to the spirit of solidarity dormant in each man, and to stress the significance of the power he holds in factory and workshop which could be used for the good of all.

Unless some purpose is re-introduced into May Day, it would be better if it were allowed to die.

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The massacre of Sharpeville in itself is meaningless, just one more incident in the hard struggle for survival. But it has meaning when it sparks off a campaign of civil disobedience (*e.g.* mass burning of passes), general strikes, world opinion and yes, we submit, and pacifists must recognise it, such rare, meaningful, phenomena as a David Pratt. But whereas *Peace News* has publicised Sharpeville, it has failed to recognise the relation between it and David Pratt, or that Sharpeville *needed* a David Pratt to save the dignity of mankind.

★

WHAT is the pacifists non-violent resistance? Is it a tactic, or a respect for human life as being sacroscanct? If we have understood them, it is the latter. In which case, if someone threatens to take my life am I entitled to defend it even at the expense of taking the life of my aggressor? Why if life sacrosanct should I consider *my* life less sacrosanct than that of my aggressor? And even assuming that I consider our lives equally sacrosanct how do I resolve the problem that my aggressor does not share my view and is intent on killing me? By letting him kill me, and hoping that he will give me time to utter a little Christian homily which will plague him for the rest of his life?

In South Africa, the pacifist must recognise that the multi-racial solution will take a long time and that in the meantime the government will not hesitate to order its security forces to open fire on gatherings of citizens who threaten its authority (even non-violently). Without suggesting the use of violence to further our objectives—we agree that violence breeds violence—what is the argument for denying the individual's right to *defend* himself, if needs be by having recourse to force? To answer this question is to answer the last sentence of the *Observer's* Comment! "To treat victims and oppressors as morally the same is moral nonsense". This is the pacifists dilemma, and when David Pratt reminded them of it with his generous gesture, instead of recognising it, and saluting him, they behaved as if neither existed.

We refuse to let the self-named "direct actionists" pass by David Pratt!

LDERMASTON—Post Mortem in the Press

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The *Observer* summed it up with a headline, Voting With Their Feet, and noted in an editorial comment that the march united people who want quite different things. In an article in the April number of *The 20th Century*, on the British Left, Mr. K. R. Minogue (writing before this year's march) said:

"Or take the anti-Bomb campaign and the marches to Aldermaston. These were, in a sense, inspired pranks, perhaps an indispensible tune in the symphony of British national life and a useful dramatisation of distaste for a situation which nobody likes and nobody pretends to like. But these gestures could not possibly have changed the situation. No harm is done so long as this is realised. But inevitably the Aldermaston affairs became part of the phantasy world of moral gestures; they became a vehicle of righteousness, allowing their older supporters the moral arrogance of feeling that, in the midst of a sea of apathy, they were 'doing something about the Bomb.' (Significantly enough, the film of the march saw politics as the wholesome hopes of youth pitted against the ingrained wickedness of politicians—all politicians!)"

This mistrust of *all* politicians which he singles out for an exclamation mark, is for us the most hopeful aspect of these demonstrations, and we wish we could believe it was more general. It seems evident however that, with all the political groups and parties making their current bids for the allegiance of politically-uncommitted youth, a lot of the aspirations which have gone into the campaign for nuclear disarmament, are going to be syphoned off into political activity.

In its issue of 15/4/60, *Peace News* discussing the different fields of protest activity had this to say about political action:

"Now that a Conservative Government is so well established for another five years, many campaigners seem to have given up any kind of political action

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"If we are not over-preoccupied with General Elections, there still seems a fair amount of political activity that could be usefully done. By-elections are the most obvious occasions. Party loyalties are not as strong then, so that more effective 'no votes for the bomb' campaigns could be organised against candidates who supported the nuclear deterrent theory."

Something To Say

Well, we wish that these campaigners *had* become anarchists (even unconsious ones) because it seems to us that in changing public attitudes political action in the parliamentary sense is the most futile form of activity in which to dissipate the energy that has been accumulated by the nuclear disarmament campaign. Bernard Kops in his *Tribune* article noted how at Aldermaston there were "Trotskyists, Anarchists, Communists, the PPU and the SPGB all selling their particular tracts." I wonder if it struck him, as it struck us, that none of them except the pacifists and the anarchists had anything to *say* to their fellow-marchers?

And it is because we have something to say, because we are not serving up the same old rehash of dissident socialism, or using the presence of a handful of back-bench M.P.s on the march, to drum up support for the Labour Party, that we venture to ask those anarchists who made new contacts and new friendships on the road from Aldermaston, to follow up these people and gain new readers for this paper. FREEDOM's double number which set out to introduce chance readers to anarchist ideas was more widely read than any issue since the time of the Freedom Press trial in 1945. Because we are convinced that

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FREEDOM PRESS

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

Vol. 1, 1951, *Mankind is One*
Vol. 2, 1952, *Postscript to Posterity*
Vol. 3, 1953, *Colonialism on Trial*
Vol. 4, 1954, *Living on a Volcano*
Vol. 5, 1955, *The Immoral Moralists*
Waters
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Vol. 7, 1957, *Year One—Sputnik Era*
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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

☛ Continued from p. 2

'A Crumbling Monument to the Bad Old Days'?

COMRADES,

The editors of FREEDOM can be commended on producing a remarkably good issue, calculated to draw new blood into the anarchist movement, for the Aldermaston March. The article on the Verwoerd shooting was therefore nothing less than a tragedy. Amid a positive wealth of basic anarchist thought it stood alone, a crumbling monument to the bad old days, a perfect example of what anarchism is not. Before the new reader had had time to discard the conventional picture of a bearded bomb-thrower in dark glasses the vision was restored with cartoon clarity.

For those selling the paper it was a constant embarrassment, all the more so if they happened to be selling *Peace News* also. I do not like to be apologetic about what I am selling but I was constantly forced to be so.

Although I consider pacifism and anarchism not only to be compatible but also to be dependent upon each other I am well aware that not all comrades are committed to non-violence. How they reconcile individual freedom with assassination I do not know but surely this is difference of opinion to be fought out in the comparatively sheltered atmosphere of the usual four page edition.

Socialists and especially Trotskyists applaud and subscribe to the "too bad he missed' attitude but the anarchist's job is not to encourage left-wing fascists, rather to try and educate by offering better methods to attain a balanced and enlightened society.

Compassion for the wrong-doer as well as for those who have suffered oppression is a desirable although admittedly difficult ideal. In the real class struggle it is not people we are fighting but the wrong ideas. It is a mistake to assume that by eliminating individuals we can improve a situation however difficult, for violence will inevitably breed more violence and we shall end up by being as culpable as those whom we are seeking to defeat. Verwoerd's policy of apartheid is despicable and must be fought by all the non-violent means within our power but we should be able to spare pity for a man with blood streaming down his face, his wife at his side. We can express pity and understanding for the man who did the shooting, he is probably suffering for it now, and at the same time abhor the barbarity of political assassination.

When we attack the pious attitudes of press and politicians in this country we have ample justification. The ruling class obviously does not like to see one of its members dealt with in the manner which it has itself perfected. James Cameron in the *News Chronicle* was near the mark when he contrasted the reaction to the Sharpville massacre with the eulogies which would have appeared if Verwoerd had died from his wounds.

Perhaps the author would like to carry his ideas to their logical conclusion by assassinating Macmillan? After all, he managed to give the South Africans the most telling form of encouragement, cash. I quote from the *Natal Mercury*, April 9th: "The strategically astute move of the British Exchequer in making a handsome taxation gift to the South African wine industry". Verwoerd is merely a figurehead, the economic blow of an efficient boycott is more effective than his removal.

Fraternally,

London, April 20. T.S.

CONSTRUCTIVE LIBERTARIANISM

ONE of the most thought-provoking articles to appear recently in FREEDOM was without doubt that by Gaston Leval (*A Constructive Libertarian Movement* 26/3/60).

By calling for an extension of the writings of Kropotkin, related to modern economic and social conditions, Leval appears to be asking for something which is, if we judge by what they say, a deep-felt need of many anarchists. But just what is it that this French writer seeks? I myself am not sure, but he appears to be falling into the trap which was so obvious to Michael Bakunin; he appears to want a set of rules, formulae, doctrines, to be enunciated by "libertarian" economists and sociologists. So that we may attract those who do not show us their favour because of our lack of planning for the future.

It should be obvious that any attempt to lay down such a plan for posterity is dangerously near to authoritarianism. The theme of Gaston Leval's article seems to me to be subtly anti-anarchist.

Again Bakunin clearly showed that the main weakness of Social Democrats and reformers was their belief that "the wisdom of the few should control the stupidity of the many". This is the old, old prop of central government and static dogma, and if one honestly believes it, one cannot be called an anarchist.

Life comes before science, said Bakunin. The natural organisation, the natural society needs no rules formulated by the academic intelligences of the

Please help us to find those New Readers for FREEDOM

And look at this too!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT

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Unfortunately, whatever the shape of the base agreement by the powers-that-be, the jigsaw pieces being fitted together are bound to form the depressingly familiar picture of government, which throughout history has so signally failed mankind.

The future of Cypriots in Cyprus was being patterned on cut and dried lines of eagerly acclaimed independence, typically stopping short of extension to the individual, the moment the London Agreement was signed in February, 1959.

With astonishing ease and speed there was set up in the island a Transitional Committee, appointed (not elected) from the government official, religious leader and lawyer class to pave the way for the Transfer of Authority to the new republic.

The proprieties of procedure were publicly observed. Headed by His Excellency, Governor Sir Hugh Foot, His Beatitude, Archbishop Makarios, and Doctor Fadil Kutchuk, the committee duly seated itself, behind the customary big, stiff cards of identity, around a conventionally U-shaped table. While press and television cameras recorded the historic scene, each member addressed himself to a diplomatically arranged agenda before affirming that (once the real business of the committee started, in private) he would never reveal any matter learned as a member of this august body.

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Life comes before science, said Bakunin. The natural organisation, the natural society needs no rules formulated by the academic intelligences of the world. In the last century it might have been possible to think otherwise, but today when all religions and ideologies are called in question, it is absolutely impossible to believe that there is any system which will provide "the answer". So why search for one?

After the social revolution each part of society, each group, will organise itself according to its own particular and local needs. Where the needs of several groups are similar they will organise themselves on a federal, syndicalistic, or some other basis.

But beyond a few basis generalisations such as this we dare not go, or we shall be playing the state game of laying down the law for posterity. Perhaps I am doing Gaston Leval an injustice, and perhaps there is legitimate work to be done along the lines he mentions, but, having read my Bakunin, I do not think so.

Leicester, 10th Apl. P. D. K. HILL

Please help us to find those New Readers for FREEDOM

And look at this too!

PROGRESS OF A DEFICIT!

WEEK 17

Deficit on *Freedom*	£340
Contributions received	£278
DEFICIT	£62

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HOW TO END TYRANNY AND WAR

The Anarchist Alternative

London Anarchist Group
MAY DAY MEETING
Working Men's Club & Institute Union Hall
Clerkenwell Road EC1
(Next to Holborn Hall)
Sunday May 1 at 7.30 pm
Speakers:
Frank Hirshfeld - Rita Milton
Jack Robinson - Donald Roum
Philip Sansom
***Chairman:* Max Patrick**
Admission Free

he would never reveal any matter learned as a member of this august body.

A draft constitution for the new republic was entrusted to a Joint Constitutional Commission. Not suprisingly this consisted of the Transitional Committee *en bloc* and, in view of the declaration by Dr. Kutchuk that "it is impossible for the two (*sic*) communities living in Cyprus to adopt a policy contrary to that followed by their respective motherlands", it also included delegates of the Greek and Turkish governments, as well as those of the predominantly Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, whose "delegates", fittingly enough, were all barristers-at-law.

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This in itself is not of course very important, but the Co-operative Party is one of the three wings of that strange flying animal, the Labour Movement, and now it is the first to embrace a policy of nuclear disarmament. The repercussions of this decision, therefore, could be disturbing to the leadership of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party.

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But a benign governor had closed the detention camps and arranged amnesty for the convicted and a return of Cypriot exiles. The shooting had ended. Persuaded by such facts and an articulate, politically minded, sometimes financially interested, minority in both Cypriot camps, suspicions were swallowed, if not thoroughly stomached.

Thus a previously unenfranchised peasantry which had shown no spirit of political independence hitherto, with their town cousins endorsed an inviolable constitution they had no hand in making, by flocking obediently to (if they were Moslems) be enrolled on the Turkish Cypriot electoral register, or (if they were Christians, either of Greek Orthodox, etc., Armenian, Maronite, or Latin Church persuasion) to be enrolled as Greek Cypriot electors.

Both sexes are entitled to vote. Voters must be aged 21 years, or more; resident in Cyprus for six months immediately before the qualifying date; a British subject born in Cyprus, or whose father was; or themselves have lived in Cyprus for at least seven of the previous fifteen years: and must not have been in prison or in a mental institution during the six months before an election.

In November, 1959, the Turkish Cypriot electoral register totalled 49,467. The Greek Cypriot total of 235,290 officially included 1,696 Armenians and 1,386 Maronites. In Nicosia itself in 1958 I had noted that, by precise denomination, there were twelve branches of the Christian Church, including the Jehovah's Witnesses. Allowing for some official inaccuracy, doubtless there was also some conscientious objection to being lumped with the Greek Cypriot majority.

Once this facade of freedom had been erected on such carefully paved ground, it was rather inconsiderate of the Turkish Cypriots merely to return unopposed their Dr. Kutchuk as vice-president elect of the coming republic. Much more to the satisfaction of the bureaucracy the Greek Cypriots, totalling 238,879 on Sunday, the 13th Dec., 1959, had the choice of two candidates for the honour of being the first president elect of the Republic of Cyprus.

The figures returned were not altogether to the liking of Government House. While British officialdom preferred to continue negotiations with the devil they know, other aspects of the poll were less assuring.

Archbishop Makarios	144,501
John Clerides, Q.C.	71,753
Ballot Papers spoiled	1,702
Electors who did not Vote	20,923
Total Greek Cypriot electorate	238,879

The casting of one in three Greek Cypriot votes against the ratification of any treaty negotiated by Archbishop Makarios was feared as indicating that concession to Britain of base areas from which a fatherly hand could still reach out might again be resisted by force.

And while by Western standards an almost 90% poll was eminently satisfactory, and more than the 1,702 ballot papers spoiled had been expected, it was pondered whether second thoughts about the benefits of an electoral system (despite the novelty of enfranchisement in Cyprus) had caused 20,923 (nearly 9%) of the electors to stay away from the poll.

I regret to say that I believe the second fear had no more foundation than the conviction of these 20,923 defaulters that the election result was a foregone conclusion.The fear that the 71,753 dissenters might ultimately substitute direct action for battle by ballot naively underestimated the characteristic optimism of political parties that sooner or later victory at the polls will be theirs.

Majestically awaiting the package deal to authorise its use stands the recently completed Chamber of the House of Representatives in Cyprus. It is designed to seat 52 M.P.s. There are 36 more seats for official guests and a gallery to seat 98 members of the public—a small but sure shadow of a Mother of Parliaments, which Cypriots do not yet realise is a Mother-In-Law only—jealous and restrictive, lacking the true maternal spirit of "have 'em, love 'em, and leave 'em alone."

SAM WALSH.

Co-op Party Against the Bomb

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MEETINGS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP and MALATESTA DEBATING SOCIETY

IMPORTANT

MEETINGS are now held at
CAMBRIDGE CIRCUS
"The Marquis of Granby" Public House,
London, W.C.2.
(corner Charing Cross Road and Shaftesbury Avenue)
at 7.30 p.m.
ALL WELCOME

MAY 8.—Brains Trust

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For one thing Labour must find *something* on which to mount *some* policy which differs from the Tories, and now that nuclear disarmament can muster such battalions it might even gain votes rather than lose them. Further, it is even possible that the Tories might be advised, by their own military leaders, to abandon nuclear weapons (and shelter under the American umbrella—or should we say mushroom cloud?) since they represent more danger than use to this tight little island.

If the Labour Party were to jump into the lead and then the Tories adopt this line, it would appear to be a triumph for the Labour Party, Co-ops, Christians, CND, sweet reason and Uncle Tom Cobley and all.

It would of course be nothing of the sort, but it might win votes at the next election—and that is what will sway Mr. Gaitskell and the responsible leaders of the Labour Movement.

MEANWHILE—

The twelfth victim this year to succumb to a radiation disease contracted from the first atomic bomb dropped over Hiroshima has died in a Tokio hospital, according to the Japanese National News Agency. She was Mrs. Mitsue Tsunoda (47, wife of a lawyer.

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at 7.30 p.m.

ALL WELCOME

MAY 8.—Brains Trust

MAY 15.—Philip Holgate
Subject to be announced.

MAY 22.—Francis Sokolov *on* BREAD, ANARCHISM AND PICCADILLY CIRCUS

MAY 29.—Jack Robinson *on* STRIKES, BOYCOTTS AND DIRECT ACTION

JAZZ GROUP MEETING

Friday, May 6th, 7 p.m. at
"PEACE NEWS"
5 Caledonian Road, N.1.
(nr. King's Cross Station)
Ian Celnick
on
DUKE ELLINGTON

FREEDOM

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